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TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

LETTER XII.

*Gilded Ropes of Serpentine River Fleet.—
Alien Bill.—Bank Paper Money Law.
—The Pope's Declaration against Pro-
testants.—Scheme of the Canadian Spe-
culators to excite jealousy of America.*

Botley, 11th May, 1816.

In Number 17, I mentioned, that a gentleman in Sussex had informed me, that he had forwarded to me some of the *Gilded Ropes*, used in the ships, which composed the famous English Fleet that so gloriously triumphed over that of your country, on the Serpentine River, in Hyde Park, London, in 1814. The Ropes, or, rather, the *rope*, is come to hand. It appears to have composed part of a *Cable*, for it is of considerable thickness. When we have looked and laughed at it at Botley, 'till we are tired, I will certainly ship it off for America, where the people have as good a right to view it, as the Londoners had to view the *hat* of Napoleon, and other of his trinkets, said to have been taken at Waterloo. If the whole be not seized on as *Naval Stores*, I shall, perhaps, send a little bit of it to be kept as a *relic* by the Cossack Priesthood. Considering its origin, it must have a great charm in it, in the eyes of those gentlemen. I will assuredly send some of the *Gilding* to my friend, the wise Mr. John Randolph of Virginia. The gold on it is not *solid* enough for the men of "*Steady Habits*," who were acquainted with *Capt. Henry*.

I am aware, that nothing short of *sterling* will go down with them. Part of the *Rope*, being untwisted, forms *distinct cords* of very convenient length and strength. These shall be respectfully presented to Mr. Goodloe Harper, Governor Strong, and the Members of the Hertford Convention.

In No. 16, at page 482, I discussed the subject of the intended Bill to protect the Bank against demands in cash for two years longer, after it had been so protected for 19 years. This matter has since been discussed in the House of Commons, and the measure has, of course, been carried. I can add nothing of my own upon this subject. It was made as clear as *day-light*, I hope, in the Number just referred to. But, it is proper to state here, as briefly as I can, the substance, at least, of what passed in the House, on this occasion. I have pledged myself to keep you informed of what this Government *is at*; what its *views* and *intentions* are, as nearly as I can; and, of all its measures, those are the most important which relate to the paper-money; because, upon this great pivot every thing turns. If this Government can revive the activity of the paper-system, it will be powerful as long as that activity lasts. If it cannot revive it; or cannot keep up the activity of it; it will itself become *feeble*, in spite of every other means that it can invent. If it become feeble, it will lose power in every department. You will soon hear the language of the people change. Influence ceasing to operate so widely, timidity and delusion will also be diminished. This is, therefore, a matter of the greatest consequence; and those considerations induce me to call your attention now, not to any thing *new*, but to the avowals, the confessions, now made in the House of Commons itself.

Mr. HORNER, Member for the famous St. MAWES, of whom I spoke to you more particularly, the other day, in a *Note*, opposed the Bill, as I informed you he would. He said, that the introduction of the Bill had *surprized* him and the *whole country*; that he now doubted the sincerity of the Ministers in their desire to return to cash payments; that the House had been told of the *desire* of the *Bank* to pay, till the gravity of the Members could no longer bear it; that it was clear that the renewal of the law to protect the Bank was connected with the

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lending of paper to the Government by the Bank; that the paper had been greatly reduced in quantity last year; that this was one great cause of the fall of prices; that we had *borrowed money in a paper of small value*, and had now *to pay the interest in a paper at a high value*; that this "was the most formidable evil that threatened our finances, and though he had too high an opinion of the *resources of the country*, and of the *wisdom of the Government*, to *despair*, he was *appalled*, when he considered the immense amount of the interest of the Debt, *contracted in that artificial currency*, compared with the *produce of the taxes*." It is useless to repeat any more of *his* words, seeing that he only repeated *mine*, which you have heard so many times over. He concluded by saying, that if the Bill passed, "he had no hesitation in saying, that the Bank would *never pay in specie again*." The Bill will pass.

Mr. P. GRANT said, that this was a system by which to carry on the financial operations of the country, through the *medium of accommodations from the Bank*; and, Mr. MARRYAT "considered the thing as a great and powerful engine, in the hands of the Ministers, to alter the *property of the country* at their discretion." This, you know, is what I have said a hundred times over. Mr. MARRYAT compared it to a *necromancer's wand*, in the hands of the Ministers. He did not like to compare it to the cock of a barrel, shutting in, or letting out, the paper at pleasure. He would have thought it *plagiarism* to repeat my very figures, as well as my opinions.

But, suffer me, if you please, to "bother" Mr. HORNER a little, once more, upon this subject. He acknowledges, that the enormous debt has been chiefly contracted in a paper of *small value*, and that the interest is *now paying in paper of high value*. He says, that this is a *formidable evil*. He acknowledges, that he is *appalled* at the amount of the interest of the Debt, when compared with the amount of the taxes. And yet, what does he propose? Why, to make the Bank *pay in specie*, which even idiots must know would lower prices and diminish the nominal amount of the taxes. What does he mean, then? He complains, that we have now to pay the interest in

a paper of higher value than that in which we made the loans, and yet, he would make us pay the interest in specie! He says, that the project of feeding the country with paper, in order to raise prices and thus enable the people to pay large sums in taxes, is the "most monstrous project that has ever been imagined," and so will say Lord Grenville, perhaps. But, let me assure Mr. Horner, that the project of making this country pay sixty, or even forty, millions of taxes a-year in specie is a thousand times more monstrous. What! is Mr. Horner *appalled* now when he compares the amount of the interest of the Debt with the amount of the taxes; and, yet, is he not *appalled* at the thought of a measure, which must cause a great reduction in the amount of those taxes? The tax-payers are ruined, he says, by paying in a paper of high value; and yet, he would make them pay in specie! In short, is it not as clear as the sun at noon-day, that to reopen the floodgates of paper-money is the way, and the *only* way, to remove the ground of Mr. Horner's complaint? Unless, indeed, he wishes to see the *interest of the Debt reduced*; and, then, good-bye to the System. But, this is what he never so much as hints at. He wants the System to stand; he wants a gold circulation and sixty millions of taxes too. He does not *despair*, because the government is *wise, prudent, and benevolent*. These qualities of the government, however, though so manifest to Mr. Horner, do not appear to me sufficient to make the country pay sixty millions of taxes in gold and silver.

The close of a subsequent debate was curious. It was moved by the Opposition to insert the words "*no longer*" after the *two years*. This was opposed, and by a Bank Director too, and lost upon a division. At last, Mr. Horner said, that "all this was *perfectly understood*." Yes, to be sure, and so it was by me and my readers, a great many years ago. More than *ten* years ago, I said what is now asserted, or not denied, in every part of the House. To talk of paying in specie, without reducing the interest of the Debt more than one half, is absolute folly. It is something so absurd, that one cannot hear it seriously proposed with any degree of patience.

Thus, then, we close this discussion.

We have now seen, that the thing has, thus far, gone on just as I have always predicted. How it will now operate; how it will work; what are the shapes in which this new mode of raising money at *once from the Bank*; or, in other words, * * * * *. What are the shapes, in which the effects of this species of traffick will discover themselves is more than I can say; but, as to the *final* consequence, there can, I think, be very few persons indeed, who take time to reflect, who can have the smallest doubt remaining in their minds.

It is a *great subject*. The whole world ought to have their eyes fixed upon this grand paper engine; for, the thing is now, at this very moment, at work to produce wonderful events. It has been the cause, and the *only* cause, of keeping in check, or beating down, the spirit of freedom in Europe. It has been the cause, and the *only* cause, of the restoration of the old governments, the Pope, and all the rest. It has been the cause, and the *only* cause of all * * * * *; and, therefore, every symptom, with regard to its probable duration, is of importance. It is quite in vain to look for the cause of any *material* change in any other quarter. Some accident may possibly give rise to a great change; but, the chapter of accidents is nothing to *calculate* on. Have your eyes, therefore, upon this grand paper engine. It is wonderfully enfeebled of late. It is now much better understood even by this credulous and deluded people. This last measure, though it has not "*surprised*" any body, except Mr. Horner, has set many persons to thinking, who appear never to have thought upon the subject before. If we have but five or six years of *peace*, we shall see good days yet.

In my last I gave you some information about the *peace Alien Bill*. Since that Letter was written, the Bill has passed through another stage. Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY has moved for a return of the Aliens, who have been sent out of the country at the request of *foreign ministers*. You will easily see the drift of this. The motion was, however, *rejected* by a large majority. Now, observe. Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY, who is an eminent, an able, and most upright *lawyer* (which is a very rare thing in England), said: "*He knew*

"that individuals were sent off on grounds
"not at all connected with danger to the
"country apprehended from them. A
"cause happened to be referred to his ar-
"bitration between two foreigners. One
"of his Majesty's Ministers, he would ra-
"ther not mention his name, as *he was*
"now dead, took a strong interest in one
"of them. In the course of the business
"one of them was found to have *miscon-*
"ducted himself. The Noble Lord to
"whom he had alluded, said that was a
"person who ought to be sent out of the
"country on the *Alien Bill*." This you
will easily comprehend. One of the *Min-*
isters "took a strong interest in one of
the parties," and the *other* was sent out of
the country for *having misconducted him-*
self even while his cause was pending
before an arbitrator! I should not have
revived this subject, having so fully dis-
cussed it before; but this fact, coming from
such a person, and stated in such a place,
is worth a hundred arguments. No more
need be said about the *Alien Act*. You
have only to bear in mind, that this act
makes part of the laws under which we
now live and under which we shall live as
long as the Bank of England shall con-
tinue to furnish us with money.

It has been stated, in the public prints
here, that the POPE has issued a document
of some sort, declaring, "*that the tolera-*
tion of several religions is contrary to
"the principles of the Catholic Church;"
and, of course, that such toleration ought
to be put an end to. This may, very
likely, be a first step towards an expulsion
of the protestants from France, a measure
that ought to surprize nobody, and, I do
not know, that it ought to excite much
regret, seeing that it would inevitably send
some of the best and useful of the people
of France to your country, where they
would add to the forces of the cause of
freedom. Tyranny will do nothing, at
last, unless it can overturn your freedom.
It must be strangely puzzled and vexed. If
it do not persecute with a vigorous hand,
it will be speedily assailed by its abject
slaves; if it do, the slaves will go to Ame-
rica, and become its enemies in that coun-
try. Tyranny is more puzzled than it
ever was before. There can be no doubt
that this government is at work with all
the means within its long-armed reach to
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In the meanwhile, here is another little

rap on the knuckles for parsons *Channing* and *Parish*. If, when they were snuffing out their blasphemous thanksgivings for the European restoration, some one had stepped to them and caught them by the ear, and, giving them a good sharp twitch, said: "Silence, you canting hypocrites! "Leave off your trash; for, in less than "two years, this restoration, that you are "thanking God for, will cause the pro- "testants of France to be hunted like "Maroons, shot, stabbed, and burnt; it "will cause all the liberty of conscience, "gained during the last twenty years, "to be utterly destroyed; it will make "him, who, as you used to tell us, was "the Whore of Babylon, as powerful as "ever; it will enable 'the Scarlet "Whore' again to get 'drunk with the "blood of the Saints.' Come down, then, "you hypocrites, and leave off your base "attempts to delude your congregations!" If some one had saluted the Reverend Cossacks in this manner, what an out-cry there would have been set up against him! Yet, he would have been correct in his predictions.

This new age of persecution may, however, be a good. The *religion-people* have, in all the countries of Europe, been most on the side of tyranny. Priests of *all sorts* have thought, or have seemed to think, tyranny better for them than free government; that is to say, government, in which the people have their due weight. Liberty has had no bitterer enemies than the dissenting Priests in general. The Methodists, in England, are the very pink of loyalty. These new pranks of the Bourbons and the Pope stagger loyal cant exceedingly. It does not know what to say. It is very angry with the Bourbons and the Pope for disgracing the cause; but, still, it dares not say much against them for fear of the just retort of having preached and prayed for twenty years against the Jacobins, who never meddled with any body's religion.

These events will keep working on, till they have made all men see what Cossack Priests really are. It has long been manifest to every man with *eyes open*, that the Cossack Priests had no regard for religion; that they followed it as a calling to get money by; that they railed against the Scarlet Whore of Babylon in order to cry up their own particular branch; that they had no regard for those souls, which

they appeared to be so anxious about; that, in short, it was the *profits* of preaching and praying, which alone they looked to. But, now, these facts must be evident to all the world. There is now no man that can avoid seeing them. So that the Cossack Priests will, in the end, have lost weight by the restoration of despotism and persecution. The new doctrine, which they broached, that *any religion* was better than *none*, was very suspicious. There are very few persons of forty years of age, who have not, before the French Revolution, heard protestant priests solemnly declare, that the Romish Church taught *idolatry*; that its doctrines were *damnable*; that its effect on mankind was to make them commit *robbery and murder without remorse*. This is notorious. Nay, this and much more, against the Romish Church, is to be found in the *books*, in the printed *sermons*, and other books of the most esteemed protestant priests. Well, now, what can be *worse* than *damnable* doctrines? What can be *worse* in practice, than that which makes men commit robbery and murder without remorse? Have the Cossack Priests been able to find out crimes *more* atrocious than robbery and murder? Have they discovered something *more* calamitous than being *damned*? If they have not, it follows of necessity, that they uttered a falsehood, when they said that *any religion* was better than none; or, that they were guilty of very infamous calumny, when they described the doctrine and effects of the Catholic religion. They are now in a cleft stick.

The sweet howl, which they set up against the French Revolution, was not because it was hostile to *Religion*, but because it was hostile to *Priests*; not because it laughed at the *Bible*, but because it abolished *Tithes and Fees*. "Oh, o!" said they, "here is an attack upon *Christianity*." What! Has Christianity any thing *damnable* in it? Does Christianity induce men to commit *robbery and murder without remorse*? "Aye, aye," said they, "no matter for that: *any religion* is better than *none*." Well! but, good Cossacks, hear us a little, said the Jacobins. We do not meddle with people's *consciences*. They may follow any religion that they please; only, for our parts, we are resolved not to *pay* to Priests of *any sort*. "Oh! you heathen! oh! you infidels! oh! you blasphemous

"wretches!" Well! but, gentle Cossacks; preachers of meekness and self-denial, whose kingdom is not of this world; you who have, all your lives, been railing against Anti-Christ, do you blame us for driving out those hordes of Priests and Monks, who were the battalions of Anti-christ. "Yes; for *any* religion is better than *none*." What, then, is the religion of Anti-Christ *better* than no religion at all? Is it to be *against* Christianity to put down *Anti-Christ*? Is it better to be for Anti-Christ than to take no part in the dispute?

But, you artful hypocrites, you made your hearers believe, that it was for *religion* that you were anxious, while you were alarmed only for your *trade* and your *pay*. "Any religion is better than none." What, then, is it better to believe *falsehood* than to have no belief? Is a poisoned bowl *better* than no drink at all? If men in general could but see your conduct in its true light, how soon would you be compelled to work for your bread! You are, however, reduced to *silence*. You are no longer talkative and bold. Why do you not *answer*? One would think that I must have stung you to the flesh before now, if your skin had been thick as ten bulls hides. Do you think, that the old cant will still carry you along? Is there not in all your thousands one man to take up his pen in your defence? Will no press give circulation to an answer? Send it to me in manuscript, and I will, at my own expence, have it printed and published.

Leaving the Cossack Priests and the Pope and the Bourbons and the Bulwark, for the present, let me call your attention to a curious article in one of our newspapers, relative to the *Mississippi* and *Missouri*. It is in these words, in the Morning Chronicle of the 6th of May: "The bill for adding a *new Province*, "*Indiana*, to the Union, has passed through the American *House of Assembly*. The *DESIGNS* of the States upon the *great rivers Mississippi and Missouri* are *BECOMING EVERY DAY MORE APPARENT*."

Now, who would not suppose, that the United States were here suspected of *ambitious* projects of *invasion*, or, at least, of *unwarrantable aggrandizement*? Who would suppose, that the territory here spoken of, and alluded to, is as much be-

longing to the United States as Hampshire is belonging to England? What would any one think of a writer in an American paper, who should say, that the *DESIGNS* of England upon the rivers *Severn* and *Medway* were becoming every day more apparent? One would say, that the man was a *fool*; and, perhaps, the observation might not be wholly inapplicable to the news-paper proprietor in this instance; but, I will engage, that the man, who has sent this paragraph to Mr. PERRY is *no fool*. He knows very well what he is at. He is some *Canadian speculator*, or, rather, Scots speculator in Canada, of which description of persons Mr. PERRY appears always to have one, or more, at his elbow.

I do not accuse Mr. Perry of any evil *design*; but, I am sure, that his publications about Canada and the Boundaries are calculated to do a great deal of mischief. They are calculated, and, by the suggesters, or authors, of them, *intended* to do mischief. These persons, who may be very worthy men, however, in other respects, want to carry on their traffick with the Indians within the Boundaries of the United States; and, for this purpose, of importance to them, but of no earthly importance to this nation, would they plunge us into a war, and make us, if they could, push it on to the amount of five hundred millions more of Debt! This nation has *no interest* even in the *keeping of Canada*; and, is it, then, to be plunged into a war for the sake of asserting the right of a Company of Fur-Dealers to traffick with a band or two of Indians? Were it *really* a *right*; and did the *honour* of our country demand the assertion of it, I would be the last man to give it up. But, we have no more *right* on the Banks of the Mississippi or the Missouri, than we have on those of the Danube.

Yet do I verily believe, that the famous *sine qua non* arose entirely out of the suggestions of the Canada Fur-Dealers. It is notorious, that we insisted upon America's *giving up a great part of her territory*; that territory lies in the countries here spoken of. It is notorious, that we insisted on prohibiting the United States from purchasing territory of the Indians in the same quarter. It is notorious, that, after suffering the signal defeats of *Lake Champlain* and *New Orleans*, subsequent to the date of the *sine qua non*,

and expending about thirty millions of money, to say nothing of the lives lost; it is notorious, that, after the Fur-Dealer's *sine qua non* had cost us all this loss of money and of military and naval character, we had to submit to the deep disgrace of having abandoned the *sine qua non*. What trifling and contemptible instruments often produce enormous mischief!

The language of this paragraph of Mr. PERRY shows, to me, its source. The word "*Province*" is made use of instead of "*State*." INDIANA is a *new State*, just admitted into the *Union*, the Constitution having provided, that, as soon as any new territory shall have a population of 70,000 people, it shall be admitted into the Union as a *State*. Thus, though there were only *thirteen* States, when America became independent, there are now *eighteen*, or *nineteen*. INDIANA is a beautiful country, several hundred miles from the Atlantic coast; and, yet, it is here called a *Province*. Then the paragraph says that the American "*Assembly*" are passing a Bill. It is the *Congress*, as you know, as well as I do. In short, you will plainly perceive, that this is a Fur-Dealing paragraph; and, you may be assured, that the intention of it is, to excite a jealousy in this war-loving dominion-grasping nation against you. "The DE-SIGNS of the States." As if your government were about to invade some territory belonging to us! Three thousand miles of sea and a thousand miles of land are nothing in bar of our claims! What impudence and what folly; but, especially, what impudence, to think of crossing three thousand miles of sea, and then traversing a thousand miles over a country wholly independent of us, there to find, in the heart of that country, territory to claim and to fight for!

Still, however, as to us, as to the nation, who have to pay for all these war projects of Fur adventurers and East-India adventurers, the *folly* exceeds even the impudence. I defy any man living to show, that it is possible for England to derive, in any way whatever, any advantage from the possession of Canada. It can afford her no aid in case of war on the ocean; it has been proved, that it can do nothing for her West-India Colonies; it can yield no revenue; the manufactures sent thither, and the Furs sent home, do not yield a gain amount-

ing to a *ten thousandth part* of the cost of keeping up a Colonial Government and an army in the Colony. It can only serve for the purpose of creating grounds of quarrel and of war with the United States, against whose militia it is utterly unable to defend *itself* for a summer month. It must always have a great army from England, in case of war; and not a small one in time of peace; while the United States can safely hold all it can muster in utter contempt.

For what, then, except for the purposes of *patronage*, can such a country be held as a Colony of England? To be sure, Captain HENRY, the spy and corrupter, did set out from Canada on his embassy to New England. But, then, our Ministers most solemnly disclaimed any knowledge of that mission; and, all the world knows, that they would not solemnly assert a wilful falsehood. There may be use in holding Nova Scotia for the sake of the sea-ports; but Canada cannot possibly be of any use at all to this nation. Yet, how many millions has it wrung from the hard hands of English industry! How many thousands of people has it placed on the list of paupers! One ship upon the Lakes, which ship has never been used, did, I believe, cost more than a million of money. If there be another war, she has been built only to be taken, the Americans being, at this hour, provided with a complete superiority of force; and, if there be no war for a great many years, the money, the sweat of the English people, to the amount of a million of money, is sunk in the Lakes for ever. Perhaps the building of this very ship has sent a thousand of the people of England to the pauper list, and broken a hundred farmers and tradesmen.

Mr. CURWEN, who owes the nation something for past errors, might partly repay it for his Bill of 1809 by moving for an enquiry into the state and cost of this colony; and especially into its cost at this moment. Nobody will do it better, if he will but set about it with resolution, and listen to the suggestions and flatteries of neither ministers nor placemen. But, the great mischief of Canada is, that it has been, and will be as long as it is in our possession, the fertile source of quarrels with the United States, with whom it is so much our interest to live in peace and cordial friendship; and which peace and friendship never

can be of long duration, while Canada is retained by us, or while we intermeddle in its affairs.

In such cases, too, there is always a strong body of interested persons to *mislead* the government at home. Persons who have got lands and settlements on the frontiers of the Province; persons who have trading concerns with the Indians. There have been, doubtless, faults on your side as well as on ours; but, humanity shudders at the deeds, which have been committed by the savages; and, more especially when those deeds are known to have proceeded from the instigation of civilized nations; nations of common origin, too, speaking the same language, and whose mutual interests dictate a precisely different line of conduct. If, indeed, the independence, the safety, the tranquillity, or the honour, of England, was concerned; if the possession of Canada were necessary to any of these, it ought to be retained; but, as the *contrary* is really the fact, I most anxiously hope to see it abandoned.

WM. COBBETT.

P S. The Paper-money begins to work in the recruiting of the spirits of John Bull. The wheat, which, *two months ago*, sold at 6s. a bushel, now sells at very nearly 12s. a bushel! The moment the *Bank Bill* was proposed, the rise began; and, I expect to see wheat 15s. a bushel in a month or two more. It may fall again, perhaps, after harvest; but, at this price, *on an average of years*, it must remain; or, *the interest of the Debt cannot be paid*. Many of the farmers; indeed all the small and poorer farmers feel additional suffering from this rise. They have *sold* their corn long ago. They have to *buy* for seed of oats and barley *dearer* than they sold. Some of them have not the means of buying. The rich, who have been able to keep their corn, will be richer still. So that here is an effect the most injurious and distressing that can be imagined; and, indeed, the most unfair and unjust:—what must the state of that country be, where thousands upon thousands of industrious farmers and tradesmen, persons of property, too, without any fault of their own, without any of those accidents commonly called misfortunes, but merely by the operation of a measure of the government, may, in any six months, of any year, be plunged into a state of pauperism? This

is really and literally our case. However, *for the present*, this new supply of paper-money will produce a *quieting* effect. The *landlords* will be satisfied. The tenants and tradesmen will begin to *hope* again. We shall see few more petitions about *economy*. John Bull's maw being again crammed with paper, he will stagger along without bellowing and roaring. The Ministers were great fools (in their view of things) not to send out the paper *five months ago*. If they had done that, and had done it in *good style*, they would have carried the Income Tax even at *ten per centum*. They were deceived by their underlings. The Ministers wished to return to gold and silver money. They wished to be able to collect the taxes in a currency of *high value*. They were, accordingly, by their underlings, who always "*prophecy smooth things*," told that the thing could be done. The real state of the country was disguised from them. But, when they were told by those who had all along supported them, that *they* must quit them, or give up their estates, they saw that more paper-money, or that a diminution of the Civil List and Salaries and public pay of all sorts and a diminution of the interest of the Debt, *must* take place, or, that they must turn out of the ministry. The two latter were not to be thought of; and, of course, fresh supplies of paper were resorted to. But, only think of the effects of this sudden change upon all ranks and descriptions of people! An estate, sold in February, or even early in March, will now be paid for in a currency of vastly inferior value to that in which the bargain was made. A debt contracted in February will now be paid in the same way. Wages, agreed for last Michaelmas, will now be paid to not more, perhaps, than half the amount agreed for. Even day-labourers will suffer very much indeed. Our labourers at Botley have been, for some time, receiving about 18 or 20 pence a day. That is to say, the price of *a bushel of flour* in a week. Their wages will not now purchase much more than *half a bushel*; yet it will be some weeks, perhaps, two months, or more, before they will obtain a rise of day-wages: In the mean while they must be half starved, or go to the parish; and thus a new batch of paupers will be created. But it is endless to describe the evils, the injustice, the cruelty, the curses, of such a system,

And, just at this very moment, comes the news, that *you* have passed a law to establish a *National Bank*!

THE AMERICAN PACKET.

NO. II.

Character of Major-General Jacob Brown.

Botley, 13th April, 1816.

DEAR JOHN BULL,

One of the means, which the parasites of your press make use of to amuse you, is, to put forth biographical anecdotes of royal and aristocratical commanders by land or by sea. How many volumes have you read, or, rather, gaped at, about "Prince Blucher," and other German and Russian Commanders! How many swords, set with diamonds, have the citizens of London voted to such men! Let me, in order to give a little variety to your reading in this way, relate to you the actions, and describe the character of a republican General, decorated with *neither ribbons nor stars*, bearing no other title than that of his office, and exerting his skill, courage, and perseverance, in no other cause than that of freedom, which cause, indeed, appears to have induced him to strip off the garb of a *quaker* and to put on that of a soldier.

The American MAJOR GENERAL BROWN, concerning whom I re-published (from a Boston paper, called the *YANKEE*) an article in a late Number (No. 14, vol. 30), is a person really worthy of your attention much more than all the Russian and German Commanders, about whom you have heard so much and have made so much empty noise. It is stated, in the article, to which I have just alluded, that he was born of quaker parents, and was brought up a quaker. "in *Duck's County*, "Pennsylvania, a little below *Trenton*." The Boston Editor has here made two mistakes. There is no *Duck's County* in Pennsylvania, and *Trenton* is in New Jersey. It should have been *Buck's County*, and I dare say a little below *New-town*, which is the County-town of *Buck's County*. And, as little men have always a hankering after an acquaintance with great men, I am strongly disposed to believe, that I had the honour to know this celebrated man before he had a flap to the pocket of his coat. There was a most

worthy Quaker, whose name was *John Brown*, who had, I think, several sons, and who lived not far below *New-town*, in *Buck's County*. His father was one of those who went from England with, or soon after, William Penn. This quaker we used to call "Old John Brown," and if alive, he must now be about 80 years of age. He was a very hearty, active, and intelligent man 17 years ago. I remember, that, on a shooting party at his house, a Mr. Wm. EWING and I shot at single shots, just one hundred partridges in one day; that is to say, Mr. Ewing shot ninety-nine and I shot one. He shot just a hundred times, and I, perhaps, fifty. If Mr. Ewing, who was a lawyer at Philadelphia, be still alive, as I most sincerely hope he is, he will remember this adventure.

If, however, Major General Jacob Brown, be a son of old John Brown, (a fact which I should very much like to know), he inherits no small portion of vigour and of spirit from his father, who, though always a Quaker, had kept a *pack of hounds* in his younger days, and was not a man to turn the left cheek, if smitten on the right.* Be this matter of

* Something of the character of John Brown may be gathered from the following anecdote, which I had from him-self. A great many years before the date of the relation to me, his house was broken open in the night. The family were awaked by most furious barking of the hounds. When he and his people, or brothers, or whoever else it might be, went down stairs, in order to go to the kennel to see what was the matter, they found, that a chest of some sort had been broken open, and that the robbers had gone off with a little box which had been locked up in the chest, and which contained money, title deeds, and, perhaps, some other things of value. At a loss to know what course to take in pursuit, Mr. Brown called out to somebody to *let out the hounds*, while he and some other person, or persons, saddled their horses. The hounds being brought to the door, from which the robbers had started, and being properly cheered on, took to the scent, and away they went at full cry just as if they had been after a fox. The robbers crossed a river (or creek); but, over went the hounds and hunters after them. The chase ended in catching the robbers, who were with difficulty saved from the dogs. They were lodged in *New-town jail*, and, after some time, confessed, I believe, that they had thrown the little box into the creek, upon perceiving that the hounds were at their heels. How the robbers were dealt with I do not recollect; but the box was sought after in the creek, and recovered. This used to be cited by Mr. Brown, as a triumphant answer to all those Quaker friends, who used to contend

parentage, however, as it may, it is certain, that only 16 years ago, General Brown, now the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Troops, was the Master of a Quaker-School in the city of New-York.

The great services, which this gentleman performed for his country on the Canadian frontier, during the last war; the activity, intelligence, and courage which he displayed, first as a mere volunteer officer, next as a commander of militia, and lastly as an Officer of the Regular army, were of a kind and attended with consequences, that justly called forth the admiration and gratitude of his country. But, his American Biographer has omitted one particular trait in his conduct, during the last campaign, which above all others, ought to have been noticed, because it is so well calculated to give the reader a correct idea of the character of the man. After the battle of Niagara, I believe it was (for I cannot find the documents), in which battle one of his Aid-de-Camps had been wounded mortally and carried off as a prisoner by General Drummond's army, General Brown pressingy requested an *exchange* of this Aid-de-camp, for whom he was willing to give up an officer of ours of superior rank. This request was refused, unless he would *first* send in the English Officer. General Brown, informed by this time, that his Aid-de-camp was *dead*, sent in, nevertheless, the English Officer, as an *equivalent* for his dead Aid-de-camp, whose corps he actually received in return!

This was an act worthy of Napoleon himself. But, what is most worthy of our attention, is, that General Brown has mixed the *soldier*, all along, with the *farmer* and *settler*. Called forth, time after time, in defence of his country, he has

that hounds were of no use. The facts here related, and which are well known to hundreds of persons in Bucks County, add another instance to the thousands upon record, which are calculated to excite great doubts upon the subject of the cause of the discernment in dumb animals. Was it *mere instinct* which taught these hounds to set up such an extraordinary out-cry upon this particular occasion? Was it *mere instinct* that urged them to push on upon the *scent of men*, to hunt whom was not their nature, nor ever had been their practice? I should like to hear these questions answered by some one who has studied the subject.

again and again returned to resume the arts of peace. He has built a flourishing village, called "*Brown's Ville*," which is now the Head Quarters of the Army of the United States. What a character is here for us to contemplate! Not a mercenary who fights and kills for mere *pay*; not a man who follows war as a *trade*, and who has no pretension to any right to investigate the merits of the *cause*, in which he draws his sword, but a man, engaged in the great work of education and civilization; a man, who, out of means wholly of his own creating, is raising up a village with one hand, while, with the other, he directs the thunder of his country against its menacing invaders.

While America has such men as this in her bosom, she has nothing to fear; and, it must be confessed, that the very state of society, in that country, is calculated to produce such men. The distance, in many cases, of settlements from each other; the adventurous spirit and personal hardihood and courage naturally engendered by new, various and grand scenes in nature, and by the toil and danger inseparable from first settlements; the ingenuity and adroitness brought forth by that great mother of invention, necessity; and the wonderful skill, which practice from infancy, has given the Americans in the most destructive weapon of war: these, and other causes that might be mentioned, will always provide America with able Generals, if, unhappily, she shall have occasion for them again.

Now, John Bull, in concluding this article, let me beseech you to look at the United States. You will find, that they have a frontier of 2,000 miles in extent, at least. That our Provinces of Canada lie beside them; that there are several nations of savages not always peaceably inclined; that there are some Spaniards to watch in another quarter; that there are numerous Forts to garrison; and yet, that the *peace army* of the United States consists of only *six thousand men*.

WM. COBBETT.

STATE OF IRELAND.

(Continued from page 412.)

He (Lord Liverpool) was most willing to admit that the system of government established originally for Ireland, and which

had long prevailed, had been radically defective and vicious. (*Hear.*) It was a system of short-sighted policy, that sacrificed the real interests of Ireland to the supposed interests of Great Britain—he called them supposed interests, because true and enlightened policy demanded that the prosperity of each should be equally promoted, since the one could not flourish while the other was in decay. (*Hear, hear.*) He could not allow, however, that during the present reign that mistaken system had been pursued; on the contrary, for the last fifty years, a system of concession to, and of accumulation of benefits upon Ireland had been invariably supported; and in favour of this assertion he could quote the opinion even of a Noble Baron opposite, delivered in a former session. The whole plan had been altered, and every exertion had been used to ameliorate the state of Ireland; but, because much had been done, he did not mean to state that no more should be attempted. In fact, progressive improvement was a fresh spur to perseverance; and if fundamental differences existed between the two sides of the House upon some important points, it was not on that account necessary that it should shut its eyes upon measures of benefit to Ireland. For himself, and for his colleagues in office, he could lay his hand upon his heart and say, that whenever a question had arisen between England and Ireland, the advantage had uniformly been given to the latter: in proof of this statement, he needed only to refer to the Corn Bill of last year, which, if it were of doubtful advantage to England, was of certain benefit to Ireland. It was not his wish to undervalue the evils under which Ireland still laboured, but it could not be questioned that they were rapidly disappearing: within the last fifty years her prosperity had increased beyond that of any other country in the world. As the agriculture of England had doubled, and that of Scotland had trebled, it was not unfair to assert that the agriculture of Ireland had quadrupled; since the Union, her commerce had been carried to twice its former extent. It was undoubtedly true, that in the course of the last summer it had been found expedient to put in force the laws for securing the internal tranquillity of Ireland, and the conduct of Go-

vernment in this respect had met with the approbation of all parties: it might be said, that this fact proved the existence of some evils; and the question, therefore, resolved itself to this—what were those evils? As to the disturbances which existed last year, and during the period when a Noble Duke opposite (Bedford) was at the head of the Irish Government, his Lordship was convinced that they were to be ascribed only to the lawless and dissolute conduct of some of the lower orders of the inhabitants, and not to any fretfulness at prevailing religious distinctions. Since the operation of the insurrection act, the outrages had been directed indiscriminately against Catholics and Protestants, without the intervention of religious animosities. What then was the fair conclusion? It was, that the amelioration so much desired by all was to be accomplished by the education and refinement of the lower classes—by inculcating principles, and encouraging habits of order and tranquillity. (*Hear, hear.*) All experience showed that this was the best and the only remedy. About a century ago the situation of Scotland was nearly similar to the state of Ireland at present. By a work written by a Mr. Fletcher, of Saltoun, it appeared that in 1698 there were no less than two hundred thousand mendicants in Scotland, who lived under no subjection, obeying neither the laws of God nor man; that fathers among them incestuously cohabited with their daughters, and brothers with their sisters; that they assembled to feast and riot during many days, and that men and women, perpetually intoxicated, indulged themselves in most horrible oaths and blasphemies. What was the condition of the lower classes in Scotland at the present day? They were even more orderly, regular, sober, and industrious, than the peasantry of England, and all crimes were of less frequent commission—not from a better administration of civil and criminal justice, not from a more effectual representation, for in both these respects England had the advantage, but from the improved state of civilization.—The same means that produced these effects in the one case would not fail in the other; and a commission had been regularly appointed for the purpose, from which some important benefits had already resulted,

without the interposition of Parliament, which persons of all persuasions had deemed inexpedient. It was a prejudice now indulged by few, that legislation could accomplish objects in this case which in no other it had ever attained. The points upon which the Noble Marquis had touched were—1. The Catholic question; 2. Tithes; 3. Grand Juries; 4. The appointment of Magistrates; 5. Finances. Upon each of these he (Lord L.) would say a few words. As to the Catholic question, he agreed in the general proposition of the Noble Mover, but he doubted its application; whatever the merits or demerits of that subject of repeated discussion might be, he was firmly convinced that it had no connexion with any of the evils of Ireland, and that concession to the claims of the Catholics would have no sensible effect in preventing the disturbances so often lamented—the same seeds of discontent would still remain. With regard to the Catholic claims, he (Lord L.) had ever considered it a simple question—convinced that guards and securities frequently debated could be of no avail, and that the point to be decided was merely that of concession or non-concession. (*Hear, hear!*) He could assure the Noble Marquis that the subject of tithes had occupied the most serious attention of Government: the principle no doubt was, that the right to tithes stood on the same footing in England and Ireland, but the propriety of a fair commutation in the latter under the peculiar circumstances, was a very different question, and his Lordship was inclined to think that such a commutation might be effected. The late Secretary for Ireland had bestowed much time upon the topic, without yet coming to a definite conclusion; and unless some Noble Lord should come forward with some outline of a feasible plan, his Lordship would oppose the hasty interposition of Parliament. As to the third point, which related to Grand Juries, he admitted that great evils existed; but the notice of the other House of Parliament had been last year directed to it; a Committee had been appointed, and he believed a bill had been prepared, which it was hoped would afford an effectual remedy. If their Lordships did not think it expedient to wait until that bill should be sent from the Commons, he had not the slightest objection to a previous investi-

gation. He did not mean to deny, in the present state of Ireland, when so many persons of property and character were non-resident, that improper individuals were sometimes included in the commissions of the peace; but he most firmly believed that the magistrates selected were in general selected from the most respectable inhabitants, for whose appointment Ministers were responsible. His Lordship could not, therefore, assent to the project thrown out of a separate commission for the nomination of magistrates in Ireland, by which the Crown would be there deprived of its acknowledged prerogative. As to the last point—the finances of Ireland—his Lordship did not think it necessary to follow the Noble Marquis through the details into which he had entered: three Committees had already made full reports upon this complicated subject; and he was happy to be able to state, that it was the intention of Ministers, immediately after the recess, to bring forward a general system of consolidation for the treasury departments of both Great Britain and Ireland, which he hoped would meet with the willing sanction of both branches of the Legislature. If the Noble Marquis was desirous that the House should be provided with information which it did not now possess, the reports of the Committees upon the finances of Ireland might be laid upon the table. After all, as he had stated, the great, indeed the sole effectual remedy for these grievances, was the bettering of the state of the poor, which had been much retarded by the non-residence of persons of fortune, and which, next to education, would most tend to the civilization of the natives of Ireland. He admitted the pressing nature of this question, and the importance of rendering Ireland a source of riches and of strength; but he did not think that a single practical object could be attained by the motion of the Noble Marquis. The intervention of the authority of Parliament might excite expectations that could not be gratified, and perhaps retard or defeat the very object in view, by imprudent precipitateness in remedies of slow but certain operation.

The Earl of Rosstyn thought, that as it seemed generally agreed that the only mode of remedying the evils of Ireland was by the introduction of good and wise laws, a Committee was the best place for

taking into consideration what laws would be most wise and most beneficial. The Noble Earl had quoted a very striking passage from an eloquent writer on the state of Scotland a century ago; but, admitting that Fletcher of Saltoun had given an unexaggerated statement of the then condition of his countrymen, he would refer the Noble Lord, with the full benefits of this concession, to the state of Scotland previous to the period alluded to. He would ask him, what had been the cause of the general disorder, of the profligate contempt of the decencies, and affections, and moral feelings of social life? The Noble Lord, if he had looked back, would have found that this frightful catalogue of vices was to be traced to the misconduct of the Government. (Hear, hear, hear!) Such a state of society was the natural result of a tyrannical Government, acting upon a brave and determined people (hear), whose religion they insulted and endeavoured to subvert by a series of the most cruel persecutions (hear); whose very worship was exercised in the midst of violence, while one half of the congregation stood ready armed to fight, while the other half were praying. (Hear.) Such had been the cause of the evils. Now, what had been the remedies? (Hear, hear) The religion of the majority was restored: the ministers of the Gospel were reinstated in their functions: and the people were again allowed to see the tranquil re-establishment of all those to whose advice and instruction they looked up with confidence and love. (Hear, hear.) In one word, the national church was perfectly restored. Those who well considered the subject, would see that this, and not education, had been the primary remedy for those terrible evils. He was quite ready to admit the great benefits of the system of education which had been introduced, and thought it particularly calculated to be beneficial from its connection with the national religion. He did not mean to undervalue the religious establishments of other countries, but he thought that degree of confident communication between the pastor and his flock, which was the result of the Scotch establishment, was the radical cause of the moral habits of the people. Now, let this be applied to Ireland, and he did not think that the application would be useless. He firmly believed, that if the disabilities arising

from religion were removed, by that one measure more good would be effected than by almost any other. Another allusion had been made to Scotland on the subject of tithes: it should be recollected that a great relief had been extended to Scotland, not only with respect to the payment of tithes, but as to the vexatious mode of collecting them. The Noble Lord here entered into an elaborate argument, to show the vexatious mode of collecting tithes in Ireland, which was at once oppressive and expensive, impoverishing and ruining the poor tenant, and operating as a direct tax even on the wages of the day-labourer. He trusted that his statement had proved the necessity of an inquiry into the question, since it so plainly appeared that the tithe system was a so much greater grievance in Ireland than in this country. He thought the mode of appointing Sheriffs in Ireland a crying grievance, connected as it was with the Grand Juries and all the abuses which might arise out of the wrong exercise of their powers. He thought that Catholic Emancipation, however granted, and under whatever limitations, would, if it did not put an end to clamour, at least compose all the rancour of religious differences. It would at once put an end to the power of those unprincipled men, who, without any conscientious wishes for relief, agitated their country with clamour for immediate emancipation. If, after all, it should be determined that a military establishment was the only mode of governing Ireland, he must submit; but he should regret that no investigation was instituted which might hold out some hope of relief to a people peculiarly accessible to kindness, and who, ever open to the influences of gratitude, might be easily governed by a system of conciliation.— (Hear, hear).

REMEMBER THIS!

Report of the Debate on Cash-payments at the Bank.—House of Commons 1st May, 1816.—Necessary to be kept for TWO YEARS in every man's house, and to be read every six months.

Mr. HORNER rose, for the purpose of moving that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the Bank of England. He observed, that it was

matter of great convenience that he had been enabled to bring forward the proposition which he had then to submit to the House before the Bill for continuing the Restriction came under discussion,—because it was his opinion, as it had been that of many Gentlemen in the House, that when it was proposed to renew the restrictions on the Bank payments for two years, that their attention should be called in detail, and on a specific motion, to the reasons why this restriction should be continued under the present circumstances; and on what principles, or under what motives, it was adopted as a permanent part of our peace system of finance? [Hear!]*—The surprise* which he had felt when he had heard of the proposition to renew the restriction on cash-payments in time of peace, had been *generally felt throughout the House and the country*; because if any thing could be collected from the former declarations of Ministers, and from the enactments themselves, it was this—that at the end of the war the system adopted in time of war should be abandoned, and that we should revert to that state of law and practice, on which alone any secure system of finance could be founded, and on which alone reliance could be placed, faith in transactions between man and man could be rested. The proposal to renew the Bank restriction, for so long a period as two years, had had *this effect—that he doubted the sincerity of the professions which had been all along made by the Ministers, of their desire to effect the renewal of the Cash payments.* [Hear, hear!]*—The professions of the Ministers had always been, that at the termination of the war the restriction should cease. Yet now, after the enjoyment of peace in reality, for nearly 12 months, and 6 months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, the House was called on as a matter of course, to continue the restriction, not for such a short period as would enable the Bank to make arrangements for the renewal of their payments, but for a period of two years.* [Hear!]*—As this had induced him to doubt the sincerity of the professions of Ministers—so no doubts remained in his mind as to the professions of the Bank of England.* [Hear!]*—The Members of that House had been told year after year, till their gravity could no longer bear it, that the restriction of their payments in Cash, was a measure of com-*

pulsion quite adverse to their system, and wishes: and that to pay their notes in gold, or in silver, was all they desired. If this restriction had been a measure of compulsion towards the Bank, *never had resistance been more meek.* The Members of this Corporation had certainly shown *submission*, and all the *passive graces* of fortitude, in a manner never surpassed. He should, therefore, take leave henceforward, to think that this Corporation, whatever were their protestations, were perfectly content to take their enormous and unwarrantable profits, which arose from the restriction on their payments, and the other measures connected with it; because *thence had resulted the servitude of the Government to the Bank.* He should not then go into the question of the enormous profits which had been made by the Bank, because that subject had been already discussed, and through the statement of his honourable friend (Mr. Grenfell) there was on their journals a most luminous and incontrovertible statement of such rapacity on the part of a great corporation, and such facility on the part of a Government, as was without example in the history of European finance. As to his Right Honourable Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) he would do him the justice to say, that he did not believe he had any system of notions on the subject. If without inconvenience he could revert to the old system, his Right Honourable Friend would be as willing to do it as not—but he thought it much more easy and convenient to go on in his old course, and to rub over this year and the next, though the country might pay highly for it. This measure of renewing the restriction for two years, was intimately connected with the *financial facilities which were to be afforded the Government by the Bank.* He knew any such connection would be disclaimed; but without putting the Chancellor of the Exchequer under the disagreeable necessity of again denying this connection, he (Mr. H.) should take the liberty of forming his own opinion on the subject. He would put it to any man who had looked at the Bank proceedings—at what had passed in that House, and the state of the market—whether he could believe that there was not a connection, not only in point of time but in purpose—aye, and in con-

tract between the advance to Government and the renewal of the restriction for two years? [Hear! Hear!] He had observed by the accounts of the Bank proceedings in the early part of the year, that the first notice of the intention of the Government to propose the renewal of the restriction had been given, *not in Parliament, but at the Bank meetings.* [Hear, hear, hear!]*—*When the second bargain was effected between the Bank and the Government, and the restriction was introduced, a rise took place in the price of Bank Stock to the amount, he believed, of near 18 per cent. Was it not extraordinary that the most ignorant buyer of Bank Stock should be aware that this Bill was an advantage to that species of property not to be missed? The proposal to renew the Restriction Act for two years was a most extraordinary measure, when compared with the extension of it at a former period. It was known with what trembling anxiety in 1797, six weeks and six weeks had been added to the term of the Act; and with what caution in 1802, the Government, suspecting the peace of that year was precarious, had proposed short extensions of the restriction. Even after the principle (an ignorant and fatal principle he conceived it to be) of making the restriction a war measure had been adopted, it had always been determined that it should cease six months after the conclusion of peace. And last year, when surely the peace did not present such a prospect of duration as at present, it was only extended to a fixed day (July 5) in the following Session. But now it was to be extended two years without any reason, unless it was to be understood as *the price of the loan which the Bank was to advance.* The question of the restriction had of late been put on a new ground, by connecting it with the agricultural distresses. But why, if the Bank Restriction was to be grounded on the agricultural distresses, why was it to be continued for two years? Was not every one more and more convinced every day that the distress would be a temporary evil; why then was not the restriction of a short duration? Only with a view to the bargain between the Bank and the Treasury. He knew this would not be avowed, because the House would not sanction the restriction if placed on that

ground. He would put it to every independent Gentleman who felt for the country or for his own property, whether he would consent to renew the restriction without any idea of the grounds on which it was defended, and without any security that means should be taken for renewing the payments. And here he should remark an error into which some had fallen respecting his opinions, though it could only have happened to those who had paid very little attention to them. *He had never said that on any one day the Bank should be opened for payment,* but that no time should be lost in giving the country full assurance that payments would be renewed, and in taking speedy measures that this might be done with safety. The measures which had been successively proposed to Parliament, were to put off, not only the cash payments, but the consideration of the means of again bringing them about. He would ask the House did they not feel some anxiety on this head? Had they felt no evils from the long suspension of cash payments? Were they sensible of no evils after all that had passed in the discussion of the Agricultural Distress, during which no one had been hardy enough to deny that a great evil had arisen from the sudden destruction of the artificial prices? [Hear, hear!] Would any man say that there had not been *a great change in the value of money?* What this was owing to might be disputed; but, for his own part, he had not the least doubt. From inquiries which he had made, and from the accounts on the table, he was convinced that *a greater and more sudden reduction of the circulating medium had never taken place in any country than had taken place since the peace in this country, with the exception of those reductions which had happened in France after the Mississippi scheme, and after the destruction of the assignats.* He should not go into the question how this reduction had been effected, though it was *a very curious one,* and abounded in illustrations of the principles which had been so much disputed in that House. The reduction of the currency had originated in the previous fall of the prices of agricultural produce. This fall had produced a destruction of the country bank paper to an extent which would not have been thought possible without more ruin than had ensued. *The Bank of England had*

also reduced its issues; as appeared by the accounts recently presented, the average amount of their currency was not, during the last year, more than between 25 and 26 millions; while two years ago it had been nearer 29 millions, and at one time even amounted to 31 millions. But without looking to the diminution of the Bank of England paper, the reduction of the country paper was enough to account for the fall which had taken place. Another evil which had resulted from the state of the currency, which he had foreseen and predicted, but which had been deemed visionary, was, that *during the war we had borrowed money, which was then of small value; and we were now obliged to pay it at a high value.* This was the most formidable evil which threatened our finances, and though he had too high an opinion of the resources of the country, and of the wisdom of the Government, to despair, he was appalled when he considered the immense amounts of the interest of the debt contracted in that artificial currency, compared with the produce of the taxes. These were the two grand inconveniences which had resulted, and it was to be remembered, that the great difference during the former discussions on these subjects, was not so much in the theoretical as in the practical question. The late Minister, Mr. Perceval, who had no general principle on the subject, thought that to revert to cash payments in time of war would be so difficult that it was not worth the hazard. He (Mr. H.) though he thought that the renewal of the cash payments was a matter which required caution and preparation, thought that the true policy was to meet the difficulty at once, and that it was a fallacy pregnant with evil to suppose that any lasting benefit could be derived from so factitious a state of the currency. The event had decided the question, but turning from these results, and looking forward to the operation of this restriction in time of peace, it would leave us without any known or certain standard of money to regulate the transactions, not only between the public and its creditors, but between individuals. The currency which was to prevail was not only uncertain but cruel and unjust in its operation at one time upon those whose income was fixed in money, and to all creditors—at another time, when by some accident it was diminished in amount, to all debtors.

Was not this an evil sufficient to attract the attention of a wise, a benevolent, and prudent Government? [Hear!]
—If they looked at the Agricultural interest, was not a fluctuation of prices the greatest of evils to the farmer? For supposing prices were fixed and steady, it was indifferent to him what was the standard? [Hear, hear!] Persons who were aware of the importance of this subject must be surely anxious to know whether there were any imperative reasons for continuing the present system, to know whether it was intended to revert to the old system, and if not now, when that system would be reverted to, and what would be the best means for bringing about that measure. This was the object for which he proposed to appoint the Committee, that the House might know something of the true state of the case before they plunged into the system of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He hoped they might hear the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and know on what grounds the Bill was now proposed, and what were the circumstances when they might revert to cash payments. [Hear, hear!]
If he looked at the professions of former times, he was at a loss to know how to apply them. The reasons for continuing the restriction had been said to be—our great foreign expenditure—the necessity of importing corn—the high price of the precious metals—and the unfavourable state of the exchange. These subjects had created much controversy, which he should not now renew, but which he did not shrink from, and which he thought it probable he might have an opportunity again to discuss; for, if the present system were persisted in, the exchange and the price of gold would be very unsatisfactory to the Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The opinions which he had formerly given had received a strong and unexpected confirmation by late events; but he had already modified the opinion which he had formerly given as to the price of gold.—When, by the depreciation of the currency, gold was permanently separated from paper, it was subject to all the variations in price of any other article of merchandise. On this subject it was to be remarked, that in last year, a year of peace, gold, though lower than it had previously been, was never below 4*l.* 8*s.* which was equal

to the whole of the alleged depreciation; but now that the country banks had called in their paper, it had fallen nearly to and would soon be quite as low as the mint price. Let not the Right Hon. Gentleman flatter himself that if the Bank of England were to issue their notes to that extent, which they were like to do upon the enactment of his Bill, the Country Banks would not return to *their former practice, and the rate of prices be affected by that practice*. The House should therefore be prepared for such consequences, and in due time consider how to provide against them. To afford an opportunity for that consideration was the object of his motion, and he hoped the house would see the propriety of acceding to it. The high price of bullion, the rate of exchange, the importation of foreign grain and the amount of our foreign payments, which were on a former occasion pleaded as reasons for the restriction of cash payments by the Bank, could not now be urged, because those reasons no longer existed. Therefore the Right Hon. Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) who urged those reasons on the occasion alluded to, was called upon in consistency to support his motion, in order to ascertain how it became necessary, after the cessation of those reasons, to continue the restriction. For himself, he could not conceive, after those reasons had ceased to exist, the measure could be justified. He had heard of publications, copies of which were pretty widely circulated, and the object of which was to shew, *that if Bank-notes were issued in the same abundance as they formerly were, prices would again rise, and the farmers be consequently benefited*; that therefore it would be a good thing for the country, that grain might probably again rise to 100 shillings a quarter. But he (Mr. H.) could not suppose the Right Hon. Gentleman prepared to support his measure upon such grounds; or that he would be an advocate for the issue of Bank-notes, with a view to raise the price of grain. For if the Right Hon. Gentleman would do so, he must become the advocate of

one of the *most monstrous projects that had ever been imagined*. Projects somewhat similar had no doubt been brought forward and tried during the Regency in France and about the same time in this country, but the result proved their fallacy. Both Governments were, however, in these cases, the dupes of projectors. But if the Right Honourable Gentleman should press such a project as that to which he had alluded, he (Mr. V.) would not be a dupe. No—the Right Honourable Gentleman would be a projector himself. This course, however, he could not suppose the Right Honourable Gentleman prepared to pursue. In what he had said, the Honourable Member did not wish it to be understood that his object was to have cash payments resumed immediately, but that steps should be immediately taken with a view to that resumption—that the Bank should set about it—that the Directors should prepare for the resumption—that indeed both Government and the Bank should set about measures to relieve the Right Honourable Gentleman from the dilemma in which he was placed by the removal of those causes which he had formerly assigned to justify this restriction. He (Mr. H.) would not specify any time within which this restriction should be removed—he would not even mention two years, but he could not help thinking that it was the *duty of Government and the Bank at once to set about the means of accomplishing that object which the public had a right to expect*. Necessity was the only reason ever urged to justify this restriction; and when the necessity ceased, the country naturally expected that the restriction should cease also. The Hon. Member here proceeded to discuss the second branch of his motion, namely, the best means by which the Bank might be enabled to resume his payments in cash. He had, he said, already observed, that he would not specify any time at which that resumption should take place, but he felt it highly desirable that measures should be *taken with a view to that resumption*.

(To be Continued.)